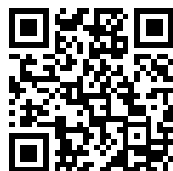


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**FORTUNA IN OLD FRENCH LITERATURE**

**BY**

**HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH**

*Associate Professor of English, Smith College*



# Fortuna in Old French Literature

BY HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH

In a monograph published in the third volume of the present *Studies*,<sup>1</sup> I have made a survey of the allusions to the Goddess Fortuna in Roman Literature, in Medieval Latin, and in the Italian vernacular. The field of Old French supplements that investigation by showing a general similarity to the material that was found in Italian; and yet, at the same time, it offers some interesting and unique phases of its own. It is true that the pagan Fortuna survives here as elsewhere; that in some treatises she is annihilated, in others she is kept in what I have called the "Christian compromise," and in still others she appears in the "Christian conception." For the blows she deals mankind, moreover, the same remedies are applied: Fortuna may be confronted with fortitude, or with prudence (opposing reason to her unreason), or with devotion to the interests that lie beyond her powers—namely, spiritual concerns. Yet the Old French treatments, which maintain the same general tradition, show, nevertheless, freshness and originality in their handling.

The cult of Fortuna in France did not begin without extensive contribution from foreign sources. As a literary branch of the Romance languages, French literature derives from Latin by direct inheritance. Also one should not forget that the early Fathers of the Church were in quite as close relation with the French people as with the Romans, whose ancestral speech they borrowed. Albertus Magnus lectured in Paris, and Thomas Aquinas came there to study under his guidance. In the fourteenth century, Avignon was an Ecclesiastical center of western Christianity and orthodoxy. Not only the influence of Church philosophy but the influence of Latin and Italian art affected the French growth of Fortuna, and here too there is evidence of

<sup>1</sup> *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, III, 3-4, April and July, 1922, pp. 131-235, "The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna."

personal contact. Alanus de Insulis, the author of elaborate allegories, was a close neighbor of France in Flanders. Dante is supposed to have visited Paris in the period of his exile.<sup>2</sup> Petrarch, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> went to the court of King John the Second to deliver a speech filled with observations on Fortuna; and a lively discussion followed. The French authors themselves take great pleasure in adapting the spirit and even the substance of foreign predecessors, and the whole course of French literature is obviously not an exclusive, independent development.

The appearance of Fortuna among the French, therefore, does not presuppose a transition from Italy to France like that connecting the Medieval Latin period with the paganism of Rome. If the field of Christianity was once broken into, it was desecrated for France as much as for Italy. But Fortuna took a remarkably important place in France from the start. She is mentioned in the romantic, the pseudo-historical, the allegorical, and the satiric literature. In most cases she is not discussed, but seems to be simply accepted as holding a definite and necessary place in the world. And what is perhaps most interesting is that the Christian conception, here as in Italy, seems to be an almost entirely independent growth, appearing gradually among the writers, and showing no traces of influence from abroad.

## I

### SIMUND DE FREINE

*Le Roman de Philosophie* (c. 1180) of Simund de Freine is, as its editor observes, an imitation but not a close copy of Boethius.<sup>4</sup> The poem takes over Boethius's pagan Fortune. The story is as follows:

A clerk (who, we may note, is not in prison) complains against Fortune. Dame Philosophy reasons with him:—He was once rich, he is now poor; but, after all, Fortune is a worthless lady. She is changeable and deceives people. It must be expected that she will be fickle. If he submits to her methods, he cannot complain of her.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See E. G. Gardner, *Dante*, 6th ed., London, 1912, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Smith College Studies*, III, p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> *Oeuvres*, ed. Matzke, p. lxvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

Kar Nature ki tut veint  
 La comande e la destreint  
 K'el deceive tute gent,  
 E face ceo k'a lui apent.<sup>6</sup>

The sun and moon never stop changing, and surely Fortune cannot. Her riches are but worldly:

Ausi di des duns Fortune:  
 Tuz ne valent une prune.

All true riches are God's. The moral is to seek virtue.<sup>7</sup>

The work of Simund de Freine represents an example of the influence of Boethius. Simund gives us the Christian compromise in the retention of both God and Fortune, which, as I have shown elsewhere, is hardly more than a logical development of the pagan remedy of spiritual devotion. The frequency with which this remedy occurs in literature suggests that Ecclesiastical influence is somewhat responsible for its persistence.

Fortune does not hold such an important place in the *chansons de gestes* and romantic literature as she does in the other fields. The pagan goddess is, however, mentioned in the following works of the latter part of the twelfth century: *Floire et Blanceflor*,<sup>8</sup> *Athis et Porphyras*,<sup>9</sup> and elsewhere in Alexandre de Bernai;<sup>10</sup> *Le Donnie des Amants*,<sup>11</sup> Wace's *Roman de Brut*,<sup>12</sup> the *Lais* of Marie de France;<sup>13</sup> and *L'Escoufle*<sup>14</sup> (1210). These passages are not perfunctory or cumbersome; on the contrary they show a lively familiarity with what we should ordinarily expect to be a Classical and thus a learned figure. A knowledge of the goddess

<sup>6</sup> Lines 331-4. "Nature" here does not seem to mean God, but rather a personification of Fortune's nature in this case. That is, the passage means, "It is her nature to deceive."

<sup>7</sup> Lines 336 ff., 863 ff., 1250 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Page 92, l. 2240; p. 124, l. 2966.

<sup>9</sup> *Athis und Prophilias*, l. 1961.

<sup>10</sup> *Romans d'Alexandre*, ed. Michelant, p. 522, ll. 2-3; p. 540, l. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. G. Paris, p. 505, ll. 277 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Lines 1965 ff. (King Lear's complaint), l. 3965.

<sup>13</sup> Warnke's ed., *Guigemar*, ll. 538 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Page 105, ll. 3510 ff.; p. 133, ll. 4466 ff.; p. 135, ll. 4536-7; p. 153, ll. 5160 ff.; pp. 234-5, ll. 7824 ff.



is taken for granted. For example, one feels a genuine spirit of life in the complaint of *L'Escoufle*:

Hé, Dix! com iert sempres grans deus  
De ce que Fortune a envie  
De lor bon siecle et de lor vie  
Qu'ele velt changier en tristor!<sup>15</sup>

To look farther afield, in the *Dit de l'Empereur Coustant* of the twelfth century we find the speaker sitting by the chimney and thinking on Fortuna's work:

As oeuvres Fortunne pensis,  
Comment li plus poissant del mont,  
Qui par leur droit anciestre amont,

and so on.<sup>16</sup> Benoit de Sainte-Maure observes the activities of Fortuna on several occasions in the *Roman de Troie* (c.1160). Ulysses, for example, has been led in his wanderings by the goddess.<sup>17</sup> Chrestien de Troyes of the same period gives us a new method of dealing with the goddess, which is like the Christian compromise but which more nearly approaches the Christian Fortuna than anything which has preceded:

Lasse, fet ele, a si grant joie  
M'avoit Deus mise et essauciee:  
Or m'a an po d'ore abeissiee.  
Fortune, qui m'avoit atreite,  
Tost a a li sa main reitreite.<sup>18</sup>

Here Fortune seems to symbolize a special function of God.<sup>19</sup> Chrestien keeps Fortuna in mind and she appears elsewhere in his work.<sup>20</sup>

The *Roman du Renart* (of the twelfth century) offers a similar example of this curious treatment begun in Chrestien. The passage describes the wheel of Fortune which is pictured at the end of the Renart manuscript:—

<sup>15</sup> Page 133, ll. 4466-9.

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Wesseloſsky, in *Romania*, VI, p. 162, ll. 20 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Vol. IV, l. 28929 (cf. Dictys, *Belli Troiani*, lib. VI, § v, "adpulsusque ad Lotophagos," etc.) Other references: I, 3282, 4165; II, 10175, 13096; IV, 24496, 25215 ff. (a long complaint), 27456, 28412, 28615, 29050.

<sup>18</sup> *Erec und Enide*, ll. 2782-6.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Grant Mal fist Adam*, ed. Suchier, p. 62, stanzas 123, 124.

<sup>20</sup> *Roman du Chevalier de la Charrette*, p. 174; *Erec*, l. 4802. See also the *Perceval le Gallois*, II, 201, l. 6024, and I, 80 (prose).

Montés est, Dieus penst del abatre;  
 Sen monter ne viut nus debatre,  
 Ains est coronés coume uns rois.  
 Fauser fait jugemens et lois,  
 Fortune a se ruée escotée  
 Si que mais n'ert par li tornée.  
 Jamais n'en ert Renart mis jus,  
 Se Dieus nel' fait ki maint lassus.<sup>21</sup>

People who have risen by fraud:

Tel gent sont au monde conté  
 K'il sont en le roe monté:  
 Por coi en faint-on mention?  
 C'est roe de dampnation;  
 Tous tans en couvient trebucier,  
 Et fait le lassé ame embuscier  
 Où ele n'a pais ne repos.<sup>22</sup>

The moral is emphasized:

Tout adès fermement s'i tient  
 Ki aime Diu et carité,  
 Et a de son proïsme pité:  
 Car qui sagement s'i avise,  
 Cele roe que on devise,  
 N'est sans plus que cis morteus mondes.

\* \* \* \* \*

Or prions le Roy Jhesu-Crist  
 Qui pour nous char humaine prist,  
 Que de tel roe nous destourgne.<sup>23</sup>

If French poetry had gone no further than this, however, the conception would be hardly more than the annihilation of Fortune and her wheel, as in St. Augustine's "wheel of Providence." Certainly thus far the figure is not much more original than Boccaccio's weak reflection (in the *De Casibus*) of Dante's Fortuna.

Allegory is less likely to raise the philosophical problem of Fortuna if it is concerned with secular matters, such as the court of love. In Thibaut's *Romanz de la Poire*, the pagan Fortuna is

<sup>21</sup> *Renart le Nouvel* (*Roman*, ed. Méon, IV, 457-8), ll. 8005-12, etc.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 459, note, ll. 13-19.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 26-31, 77-9.

closely related to Amor, and performs offices for him although she is clearly superior.<sup>24</sup>

#### LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE

The influence of the *Roman de la Rose* has had sufficient recognition. The interplay of relations between this French allegory and Italian allegory in general is far too complex for us to consider here.<sup>25</sup> We need merely to remember that the French conception of Fortune was not an isolated growth; that at any time suggestions could be received from the Italian, and in turn the Italian conception could borrow incidental detail from the French. Whatever its sources, *Le Roman de la Rose* contains a great mass of material on Fortune, which was thus newly offered to the popular imagination.

The first part of the poem, written by Guillaume de Lorris about 1225-30, gives far less space to the description of Fortune than the second part, written by Jean de Meun about 1270; but the former writer uses the purer allegory, and with him the goddess remains a goddess. In the first part, the lover is disappointed in Bel-Acueil:

Ce est ausinc cum de fortune  
Qui met où cuer des gens rancune.<sup>26</sup>

The passages picturing Fortune use little more than traditional material.<sup>27</sup> We may note the appearance merely as part of the general treatment of Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose*, which is the most conspicuous passage in French for the Fortune of love. She is here adequately and unobtrusively portrayed.

Jean de Meun introduces a long dissertation on Fortune, in which Reason discusses her work and accepts her existence as obvious:

There are strange tales about her,—  
Et si la trueve-l'en escripte,  
Que miex vaut assés et profite

<sup>24</sup> See ll. 25 ff. Post (*Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, p. 165) says that she is depicted in the *Romanz* "as the protectress of the righteous and the benefactress of faithful lovers."

<sup>25</sup> See Benedetto's *Il "Roman de la Rose" e la Lett. Ital.*, which discusses the influence on Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Cecco d'Ascoli, Fazio degli Uberti, Frezzi, Fregoso, and others.

<sup>26</sup> Lines 3990-91.

<sup>27</sup> See ll. 3991 ff.

Fortune perverse et contraire  
Que la mole et la debonnaire.<sup>29</sup>

Good Fortune deceives and fools.<sup>29</sup> She seems to be loyal; she gives her promises of worldly felicity. Mounted on her wheel, men think they shall never fall. They think they have many friends, but when they lose their wealth, they learn their true friends. When she dwells with men, she troubles their minds; she nourishes them in ignorance. When they fall, she gives them vinegar. Only our true friends remain with us under those circumstances.<sup>30</sup> She has power over nothing really good. All good things are enclosed in one's self. Fortune has control over the rest of the gifts of this world, and takes and gives them at her caprice, whereby she makes fools smile and grieve.

Nus sages hons ne priseront,  
Ne nel' feroit lié ne dolent  
Le tor de sa roë volent.<sup>31</sup>

Do not prize the wheel a prune. Be like Socrates, who was never glad in prosperity nor sad in adversity.<sup>32</sup> Strive with fortune and you can subdue her.<sup>33</sup>

Much of the doctrine in this passage is obviously indebted to Boethius,<sup>34</sup> but it is put in a way to appeal to a class of readers rather different from that which would consult the philosopher.

Jean de Meun gathers more material by taking the description of Fortune's house bodily from Alanus de Insulis.<sup>35</sup> The confusion there between type and symbol, which I have already explained,<sup>36</sup> appears again in Jean de Meun's somewhat amplified passage. Fortune comes to the wretched part of the house:

Lors va soupant et jus se boute,  
Ausinc cum s'el ne véist goute;  
Et quant illec se voit chéuë,  
Sa chiere et son habit remuë,  
Et si se desnue et desrobe,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Et quant el voit la meschéance,

<sup>29</sup> Lines 4858-61.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Petrarch, *De Remediis*, (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, III, p. 207.)

<sup>31</sup> Lines 4852 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Lines 5356 ff. Cf. Petrarch.

<sup>33</sup> Lines 5868 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Lines 5900 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Jean de Meun translated the *Consolation of Philosophy*.

<sup>36</sup> See Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, pp. 96, 186.

<sup>37</sup> See *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, III, pp. 189 ff.

Si quiert honteuse chevissance,  
 Et s'en vait au bordiau croupir  
 Plaine de duel et de sopir.  
 Là plore à lermes espanduës,  
 Les granz honors qu'ele a perduës,  
 Et les délis où ele estoit  
 Quant des granz robes se vestoit."

Jean returns to the purely symbolic idea later :

Et por ce qu'ele est si perverse,  
 Que les bons en la boë verse, etc."

The point for us is that Fortune, as a goddess, could not weep except in extravagant sympathy. And, if she is the cause, why need she be sympathetic?<sup>39</sup>

Jean de Meun's Fortune, although she wavers between type and symbol, is nevertheless consistently pagan as long as she is symbolic. The author offers the remedy of spiritual devotion, and in this connection he even corrects Alanus de Insulis on the subject of nobility ("gentillesce") :

Que Fortune à nul ne la baille,  
 Comment qu'il aut du retolir,  
 S'il ne scet si son cuer polir,  
 Qu'il soit cortois, preus et vaillans."

So much for the actual picture of the goddess in Jean de Meun. Philosophically he is not so specific, or any more satisfactory. In a discussion of Divine providence and free-will, he decides that man must have free-will and that God's foresight does not imply "necessity."<sup>41</sup> This gives him an opportunity to justify the existence of Fortuna as the goddess who keeps things in a

<sup>39</sup> Lines 6168 ff. Cf. lines 6178 ff. with Juvenal (Satira X, ll. 363 ff.)

<sup>40</sup> Lines 61889.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. that remarkable song of Fortuna, "Once in the gloaming Fortune met me here," which was drawn to my attention by Professor Archer Taylor :

I saw my Fortune midst the sounding sea  
 Sit weeping on a rocky height and steep, etc. (st. iii).

The poem is printed in *Essays in the Study of Folk-Songs*, by Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco, London, 1886, pp. 297-8 (or Dent ed., pp. 229-30).

<sup>42</sup> Lines 6595-8. Yet see l. 6591, "gentillesce sa fille."

<sup>43</sup> Lines 17302 ff.

state of flux for man's free-will to operate, but on this point he is vague. He takes over the Boethian conception of a fickle Fate:

Ainsinc otroi-ge destinée,  
Que ce soit disposicion  
Sous la prédestinacion  
Ajoustée as choses movables.  
Selonc ce qu'el sunt enclinables.<sup>43</sup>

Later he apparently substitutes Fortune for this Fate:

Ainsinc puet estre homs fortunés  
Por estre dès lors qu'il fu nés,  
Preus et hardis en ses affaires,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Ou par fortune avoir perverse.<sup>44</sup>

This is about as much of the Christian Fortune as we find in Boethius, and this is what Jean de Meun leaves us.<sup>45</sup> He says:

Et vois que Diex est tous poissans.<sup>46</sup>

The tradition, then, which Jean offers to his successors includes not so much a novelty in his own material as a richness of harvest from other fields. He repopularizes in the French language the two great sources, Alanus and Boethius, and he does it in a way convenient both for the pagan and for the Christian. This service is merely one of the many encyclopædic aspects of his work.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Lines 17739-43.

<sup>44</sup> Lines 17744-50.

<sup>45</sup> For the influence of Boethius, which is of course marked in the philosophical discussion and the description too, see Langlois, *Origines*, etc., pp. 136-8, 185-6; Galpin, *Mod. Lang. Assoc., Publ.*, XXIV, pp. 337 ff. See a reference to Boethius in lines 5052 ff. of the *Roman*, "Qui Boèce de Confort lisent," etc.

<sup>46</sup> Line 6331.

<sup>47</sup> Fortune also appears in Jean de Meun's *L'Art de Chevalerie*, and in its verse-form by Jean Priorat: see J. de M., pp. 129, 131, 175; J. P., p. 53, l. 1632 (not as in J. de M.), p. 353, l. 11233 (cf. J. de M., p. 175). See also line 652 of Jean de Meun's *Testament* (Méon's ed. of *Le Roman de la Rose*, IV, 33), "Se fortune vous a encroé sur as roë." Jean translated the letters of Abelard and Héloïse, see G. Paris, *Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, (1914,) p. 182. See also above, p. 7, n. 34. For fortune-telling, see Jean de Meun's *Le Plaisant Jeu du Dodechedron de Fortune*.

The minor poetry of the period gives up many lines to the description of the goddess, and shows a great variety of method in treatment. In Rutebeuf († c. 1280) she is mentioned casually.<sup>47</sup> Adam de la Halle brings a detailed picture of Fortune and her work into his *Jeu de la Feuillée* (c. 1262), with contemporary "hits" in the case of the people injured,—Ermenfrois de Paris, the two Crespins, Jakemon Louchart,<sup>48</sup> and others.

In the French poetry thus far we have noted the frequent use of the Christian compromise. Although, as I have said, this is merely an extension of a purely pagan idea, yet up to this point—in the work of Simund de Freine, in *L'Escoufle*, in the special treatment in Chrestien's work, and in the similar treatment in the *Roman du Renart* (where Fortune's labor becomes part of that of another Deity)—there has appeared a surprising tendency to employ this method quite deliberately.<sup>49</sup> Philippe de Remi, Sire de Beaumanoir, carries the treatment of Fortune a step further than the compromise.

#### PHILIPPE DE BEAUMANOIR

In *La Manekine*, Philippe de Beaumanoir (c. 1250-1296), pauses for a long discourse on Fortune, beginning with a complaint. The Manekine is distressed because no woman has ever suffered from Fortune as she has.<sup>50</sup> Fortune is an enemy of

<sup>47</sup> *Oeuvres*, II, 176, ll. 174 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Page 34, ll. 769 ff. For Adam's influence, see Guy's *Essai*, chapter vi of which discusses the relation of the *Jeu de la Feuillée* to *Midsummer Night's Dream*. L. Bahlens (*Adam de la Halle's Dramen*, p. 46) notes that the characters on the wheel are from the history of the town of Arras.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. also Gautier de Coincy (1177-1236):

Que de Diu l'a tot destorné;  
Tant l'a Fortune tost torné  
Que il fist au déable oumage

(*Li Sessime est de Théophilus*, in Rutebeuf's *Oeuvres*, 1875, III, 246, ll. 9-11), where, however, the demon theory is brought forth. See also *La Roe de Fortune*, beginning,

Biaus sires Diex, que vaut, que vaut  
La joie qui tost fine et faut

(Jubinal, *Jongleurs et Trouvères*, p. 177); again, Jubinal, *Contes, Dits*, etc., I, 128; *Girart de Rossillon*, ll. 13078.

<sup>50</sup> *Oeuvres*, ed. Suchier, I, 36, ll. 1084 ff.

good people.<sup>51</sup> She shows her power, and continually turns her wheel, on which all the world is set. He is a fool who trusts the wheel. God put the present sufferer in a higher place than ever before, and then came her fall:

Car fortune a son vouloir maine  
Les gens, puis que Dix li consente.<sup>52</sup>

But Fortune is not the less capricious.<sup>53</sup>

These very striking passages do not include all that Philippe has to say concerning Fortune,<sup>54</sup> but they do disclose his position. God consents to Fortune's rule of the world, according to Philippe. Thus we see that Fortuna must be dominated by the Christian God, and in some way works His will.

#### PIERRE DE LA BROCHE

A dialogue between Fortune and one Pierre de la Broche,<sup>55</sup> in the presence of Reason, uses a plot reminiscent of Boethius. There is, however, the important contrast that here Fortune is actually seen doing the will of God and punishing the wicked man according to his deserts:

Pierre accuses Fortune of having sold wealth and honor to him too dearly. Reason calls on Fortune to defend herself. She responds by accusing Pierre of having abused her gifts, and of having vilified royalty. Reason thereupon pronounces the sentence that Pierre must suffer still

<sup>51</sup> Lines 3325-6.

<sup>52</sup> Lines 4636-4705 *passim*.

<sup>53</sup> See the prose version of the *Manekine* by Jean Wauquelin (written 1446-48; see Beaumanoir, I, xcii), ch. ii: "Fortune, la mere de tritresse et de consolation, n'espargne grant ne petit. Car a tous elle donne seloncq ce qui lui plaist, c'est assavoir a l'un prosperité et a l'autre adversité," (Beaumanoir, I, 268).

<sup>54</sup> See I, 170 (*La Manekine*, ll. 5496 ff.); II, 20, 52, 56, 79 (*Jehan et Blonde*, ll. 549, 1629, 1743, 2509).

<sup>55</sup> Pierre, a barber of St. Louis and a favorite of his son and successor, was accused of calumny of the queen, Marie of Brabant, and was hanged in 1276 (see Monmerqué and Michel, *Théâtre Français*, p. 208). Whether he was the author of this dramatic dialogue, I do not know. Perhaps it was written by way of apology, but it reads more like the work of a skillful interpreter of the scene.



more. Fortune says that she has done Pierre many a favor, but he has been guilty of infidelity:

Se droiz en a pris la venjance  
Et ta fausseté t'a repris,  
Por quoi m'en fez noise ne tance?

Pierre answers:

Hé! Fortune fausse et vilaine,  
Vessiaus plains de mal et d'amer,  
Escorpie de venin plaine.

Why didn't you keep me fixed on high? There is no greater sorrow than falling into grief and distress from a position of wealth. You are a scorpion; you seem to love, and end by poisoning.

You used to be good, replies Fortune; you set yourself to serving God and the whole world, and He rewarded you;

Lors te pris en humilité  
Ou commandement Dieu le pere,  
Et te fis par grant amisté  
Ta meson sus ma roe fere.

He declares that she is his mortal enemy, and she (with something of the calm of the blessed figure in Dante) replies: It is my delight to turn my wheel; you have ruined yourself, Pierre. And Reason agrees.<sup>66</sup>

#### WATRIQUET DE COUVIN

In both Italian and French poetry there has appeared a more or less successful attempt to create a new figure of Ventura equivalent to Fortuna, although I have not drawn attention to it. Thus, in Brunetto Latini we find:

Ch' amico di ventura  
Come rota si gira,  
Che mi pur guarda, e mira  
Come ventura corre.<sup>67</sup>

In some of the distichs of Cato translated by Elie de Wincestre (of the middle of the twelfth century), Aventure, like Fortune, is confused with Occasio.<sup>68</sup> Everart (of about the same period)

<sup>66</sup> Monmerqué and Michel, *Théâtre Français*, pp. 208 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Il Favoleto*, ll. 72-5. Cf. also Bonaggiunta da Lucca, in *Poeti del Primo Secolo*, I, 513 (juxtaposition of Fortuna and Ventura), 515; Lorenzo de' Medici, *Poesie*, p. 169 ("questa è ruota di ventura").

<sup>68</sup> *Ausgab. und Abhand.*, XLVII, 128, ll. 429, 439 ff.

substitutes Fortuna for Aventure in the translation of the same distichs.<sup>59</sup> Simund de Freine says:

Fortune ceo est aventure  
Ki vient e vet e poi dure.<sup>60</sup>

From this passage, it seems possible that Fortune was felt to be too much of a proper name to be self-explanatory; Ventura or Aventure was merely "Chance,"<sup>61</sup> and could be used to interpret "Fortuna."

In the line of this tradition, Watriquet de Couvin (fl. 1319-1329) developed a remarkable figure. His use of the name Aventure may be due to his strong impression of the haphazard element in human life and his desire to emphasize the fact that he has strictly the goddess of chance in mind. In *Li Mireoirs as Dames*, as he is riding along he meets

La très plus belle creature  
Conques peüst fourmer Nature,  
Et la plus blanche au droit costé;  
Rien n'en avoit Nature osté,  
Toute y estoit biautez entière.  
Mais tant estoit hideuse et fiere,  
Laide, noire, au costé senestre,  
Con en peüst esbahis estre;

\* \* \* \* \*

Ses vestemens n'iert pas entiers,  
Mais de parçon mout très diverse:  
Noire iert à l'esclen lez et perse,  
Blanche au destre con fleurs de lis, etc.

She salutes him, puts her right arm about his neck, welcomes him, and bids him not to wonder at her:

Je porte au siecle double vois,  
J'ai bien et mal dedens ma male.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 129, ll. 99 d, 102.

<sup>60</sup> *Roman de Philosophie*, l. 61.

<sup>61</sup> See also Jubinal, *Contes, Dits*, etc., I, 195 ff:

L'Escripture dit bien, Fortune est aventure  
A la foiz bone et bele, à la foiz laide et dure.

Also Baudouin de Condé, *Li Prisons d'Amours (Dits et Contes*, I, 301-2), ll. 967-8:

Fortune et aventure sunt  
Une coze, mais .ij. nons ont.

See also lines 970 ff.

She has heard him lament for the royal beauties. She will lead him to see the beauty of the true mirror. He wonders at her great power:

Fortune et Eürs en ont tant  
Que chascuns s'en puet merveillier:  
Cil que on voit plus travailler  
De Dieu servir et de bien faire,  
Sont cil qui plus truevent contraire.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ce nous tesmoignent clerc et lai.

Here we have a note of the philosophical tradition. Then Fortune undertakes to tell him "la vérité pure":

Frère, on m'apele Aventure,  
En terre m'a Diex estable;  
Au main lever pas ne m'oublie,  
Tantost sui où je veil aler;  
Je fas le trop haut devaler,  
Nus n'a en moi juste fiance.  
Bien en vois la senefiance  
A mon cors de double figure,  
Qu'en moi n'a point d'oeuvre seüre.  
Nus n'i do it estr asseürez,  
Tant soit riches ne eürez  
Ne par fortune aventureus.

They go to the Castle of Beauty. The steps to the summit are in charge of Nature, Sapience, Raison, Mesure, etc. Raison is stewardess of the Castle.<sup>62</sup>

Watriquet's interest in Aventure, or Fortune, does not end here. He has *Uns Dis de Fortune*, which does not reveal, but is quite consistent with, the Christian conception. The Christian Fortune punishes sin in general, and here pride suffers. Fortune's goods are worldly possessions.<sup>63</sup> In another place Watriquet describes Fortune's house,<sup>64</sup> and he mentions the goddess herself many times,<sup>65</sup> usually giving us the Christian Figure. With him Fortune is always the servant of God.

<sup>62</sup> *Dits*, ed. Scheler (who dates nearly half the pieces between 1319 and 1329, see intro., pp. xii ff.), pp. 1 ff. For the date of *Li Mireoirs*, 1324, see note on p. 411.

<sup>63</sup> *Dits*, p. 73, ll. 4 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Pages 399 ff. (*Li Dis de l'Escharbote*).

<sup>65</sup> Page 214, ll. 498 ff.; p. 247, ll. 487 ff.; p. 270, ll. 1247 ff.; p. 398, ll. 48 ff.

. . . Diex, em poi d'eure d'esforce,  
 Leur force a tost au bas tornée  
 Par fortune, la bestornée.<sup>66</sup>

And his prayer is :

Ha Diex ! con dure voie ala,  
 Où à tel duel couvient aler ;  
 Tost l'ot fait Fortune avaler.  
 Et Diex, qui tout fait et loing garde,  
 De telle avalée nous garde.<sup>67</sup>

There can be no doubt about this figure. The Christian conception is certainly what we have in Philippe de Beaumanoir, Pierre de la Broche,<sup>68</sup> and Watrquet de Couvin, approached from a different point of view, treated very originally, all three really before the end of Dante's life and with no apparent reminiscence of Dante. In Watrquet de Couvin, where we find the most complex elaboration, even the name of the goddess is different from that of the figure in Dante ; and yet we may feel sure that Aventure here represents Fortuna. Indeed, the growth shows every indication of being spontaneous and natural.

## II

### BAUDOUIN DE CONDÉ

The place of Fortuna in love-allegory was assured both by the treatment of Fortuna in connection with love in literature previous to that of Baudouin de Condé (fl. 1245-1275), and by the dignity given to her in the *Roman de la Rose*. As the Italian *novelle* were principally concerned with love,<sup>69</sup> and gave considerable attention to the activities of Fortuna, so French allegory took up the themes of Jean de Meun and developed them after Jean's great model.

Baudouin de Condé's *Prisons d'Amours* gives a detailed account of the tower on the top of love's prison. There in the tower

<sup>66</sup> Page 261, ll. 966-8; see also p. 228, ll. 936 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Page 82, ll. 132-6.

<sup>68</sup> See above, p. 11, note 55.

<sup>69</sup> Not so Italian allegory, for the tradition of Dante was not important for the Court of Love. Cf. W. A. Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, Boston, 1899, p. 109.

Fortune is in control of affairs and turns her wheel.<sup>70</sup> The peculiar variation of the theme and the treatment of the wheel I shall study elsewhere in a discussion of the wheel. Here we may note that it is really a wheel of love:

Illueques cil et celles sunt  
 Qui les solas d'amours grans ont;  
 Li autres rais si aval baisse,  
 Ke jusk'en la cartre s'abaisse,  
 Là ù cil sunt qui n'ont d'amours  
 Fors les travaus et les dolors.  
 Sour les autres .ij. rais moyens  
 Sunt cil qui dedens les loiens  
 Sunt d'amors, ne mais pour amer  
 Ne sentent ne douc ne amer.<sup>71</sup>

#### NICOLE DE MARGIVAL

*La Panthère d'Amours* (c. 1295 ?) of Nicole de Margival sends the lover to seek his love (the panther) by way of Fortune. The road is fearsome, but he arrives at Fortune's house. Fortune, at first angry, puts him under the control of adversity; "Eurs," however, soon aids him, and Grace, who comes riding through the country, sends Bone Volonté to Fortune as a harbinger. Fortune is appeased. Pity with her daughter Mercy arrives, leading the gentle panther. The panther at the bidding of Pity submits, and the lover awakens.<sup>72</sup>

#### LE ROMAN DE FAUVEL

The satiric *Roman de Fauvel* (1310-1314) introduces the Christian Fortune in connection with the discussion of Church defects and difficulties. Fortune is responsible for the bad condition of the Church:

La seignorie temporel,  
 Qui deüst estre basse lune,  
 Est par la roe de Fortune  
 Souveraine de sainte Eglise.<sup>73</sup>

The protagonist visits the house of Fortune in the city of Macro-

<sup>70</sup> *Dits et Contes*, I, 267 ff., ll. 297 ff., 839 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Lines 871-80.

<sup>72</sup> Lines 1918 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Lines 472-5 of the edition published by the Société des Anciens Textes Français, from a xiv-century MS. See also lines 397 ff., 406-30, 1147.

cosm. The goddess holds in her hands two crowns, one beautiful, one ugly. She has two faces, and turns two wheels. At her feet is seated Vain Glory. Fortune says that she is in control of the world, but that she is not well known. She is the daughter

Du roy qui sans commencement  
Regne et vit adurablement.

(Fortune Primigenia!) She has a sister Sapience. She was ordained by God to make the world revolve. When all movement stops the world will end. Fortune is only divine providence, and has four names: Providence, Destiny, Adventure, Fortuna. The world is old and soon will approach its end, when the Antichrist will arrive.<sup>74</sup>

From this outline it appears that here is a confused union of the demonic conception, or the Fortune of the lower world (who has thus subdued the Church), and the Christian conception.

#### JEAN DE CONDÉ

The peculiar French version of the compromise, which sometimes becomes the actual Christian conception and yet does not resemble that of Dante, is found in *Li Dis de Fortune* by Jean de Condé (fl. 1310-1340):

Fortune is wonderfully and terribly dangerous. There is no sureness in her gifts. She often takes away more than she has given. When man abandons her, he is beaten down lower than ever before. She has no firm covenant. Reason often teaches us that whom God wishes to be safe He can keep on high:

C'est moult legier à soustenir  
A homme qui a cunnoissance,  
Quar retenue a sa poissance  
Et sour Fortune et sour Nature  
Et sour chascune creature.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1850 ff. Pages iii-x contain a full outline of the poem, followed by a description of the twelve MSS. and by discussions as to date (1310-1314), authorship, etc. A photographic reproduction of the *Roman*, from another xiv-century MS. (no. 146, Bibliothèque Nationale, without numbered lines) was published in 1907; and the first part of the poem is printed, from a xv-century MS., in *Jahrbuch für Roman- und Eng. Lit.*, VII. 316-343, 437-446.

Let people remain silent about the works of Fortune:

Quar riens ne consent sans raison  
 Diex, qui tout de noient créa  
 Et de toute oeuvre à son gré a  
 Establi au siecle l'ouvrier;  
 Dont n'i sai autre recouvrier  
 De l'oeuvre du tout bestournée,  
 C'on en face à Dieu retournée.

Men who have suffered ought to fear God and love Him until He takes them back to His grace. His power exceeds all other. And you who are exalted, beware lest Fortune make you fall again!

Aies donc le cuer apresté  
 De douter Dieu, ton creatour,  
 Car Fortune ne porroit tour  
 Tourner sanz son consentement.

God may let the wicked hold their prosperity for a while, hoping for penitence, but later their souls will be snatched to hell.<sup>75</sup>

This treatment, while it has a peculiar suggestion of the Boethian doctrine,<sup>76</sup> goes farther than that. God causes the reversals of Fortune to make mankind come back to Him. Jean de Condé gives Fortune a place in his poetry several times elsewhere,<sup>77</sup> but this is the chief passage which reveals his philosophy.

This, however, is not the last of the Christian figure in French literature, or the last of the passages reminiscent of Boethius. Gorra summarizes a discussion in an Old French manuscript, as follows:

The author is in prison and deep in melancholy. He sees, as if painted on the wall, a wheel moved by a lady of great age. She is crowned with gold, and wears a mantle. On the wheel are four human figures. She tells about herself. She and her sister, Reason, were created by God (when man and woman were first made) not of earthly but of celestial material. She is invisible and dwells on earth. She has a wise damsel as her companion, named Mesure, and she is attended by a young girl named Habundance. God entrusted all the wealth of the world to them, of which there are two kinds: the wealth of Fortune, and that of Nature. The latter was entrusted to Fortune's sister.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Baudouin and Jean de Condé, *Dits et Contes*, III, 151 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *Cons. Philos.*, IV, met. vi and pr. vii.

<sup>77</sup> *Dits et Contes*, II, 188, 347, 360; III, 54, 127.

<sup>78</sup> Gorra, *Studi di Crit. Lett.*, pp. 57 ff. The MS. (no. 12460, Bibliothèque Nationale) is dated 1345.

Fortune and Reason, here at least, seem on the point of reconciliation.

#### LES ÉCHECS AMOUREUX

The *Échecs Amoureux*, of the late fourteenth century, tells the story of a man who loses a game of chess in love and blames Fortune for his loss.<sup>79</sup> The author seeks the God of Love for consolation. The account of Fortune presents the old material of Fortune's characteristics: Fortune has control only over the wicked, therefore let mankind follow virtue alone.<sup>80</sup> As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>81</sup> the author borrows the figure of the wheel of Fate from Boethius (*Cons. Philos.*, IV, pr. vi), substituting Fortune for Fate. That this was an easy enough step is obvious from the number of Christian treatments which, as we have seen, are indebted to Boethius. Fate becomes "muable," and Fortune, the more familiar figure with a wheel, fits the place better to the Mediaeval imagination. One must

Passer les perils de ce monde,  
Ou fortune regne et habonde,  
Et soy de tout vice eslongier.<sup>82</sup>

Boethius has once again stimulated the poetic imagination to the poetic idea of a figure like the Christian Fortune.<sup>83</sup>

In the fifteenth-century commentary on this poem<sup>84</sup> I find an interesting revival of the scholastic discussion: "Et pour ce convient il confesser que fortune soit aucune chose reele et vraye et non pas chose du tout simplement fainte, et qu'elle soit aucunement aussi cause des choses qui ainsi adviennent fortunement."

<sup>79</sup> Of this poem, unfortunately, I have been able to examine only such fragments as are printed in Sieper's *Les Échecs Amoureux* (Weimar, 1898), and in the second volume (1903) of his edition of Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* (see a summary on pp. 59 ff.); in Mr. Galpin's letter, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, pp. 62-3; and in Körting's *Altfranzoesische Uebersetzung der Remedia Amoris des Ovid*.

<sup>80</sup> Sieper's ed., pp. 52, 65, 84-5; Galpin, as above.

<sup>81</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, p. 197.

<sup>82</sup> See Mr. Galpin's letter, *ibid.*, 62-3.

<sup>83</sup> For the influence of Boethius, see Sieper's *Les Échecs Amoureux*, pp. 130, 142.

<sup>84</sup> Most of the MSS. of this commentary are of the fifteenth century: see Sieper's edition of Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, II, 67.



Fortune does not bestow her gifts on beasts or on the insane. She has to do only with men of deliberate action, as, for example, when a man cultivates his vineyard and comes upon a buried treasure.<sup>85</sup>

GUILLAUME DE GUILLEVILLE

In the *Pelerinage de l'Homme* (c. 1330) De Guilleville includes a long description of Fortune and her wheel.<sup>86</sup> She interrupts the Pilgrim's sea-voyage:

Or vous dy ie que ainsi nageant  
Et les flotz de mer regardant  
Ung grant arbre bienauant vy.

The tree proves to be a possession of Fortune. Soon the traveller finds himself on Fortune's wheel, which is whirling in the midst of the water, and an elaborate description of Fortune's symbolism is presented. Fortune's dignity in the universe is suggested later, when Astrology tells the pilgrim that Fortune receives the commission of her seasons and her duties from above:

Dire ie vueil et maintenir  
Que fortune et son caribdis  
Sa roe et trestout son tourneis  
Et tout quanque peut et a peu  
Du cours du ciel luy est venu  
Et luy est certain temps donne  
Et baille et pteo)donne  
Pour faire fai) infortune)  
Du aucunesfoi) fortune).<sup>87</sup>

Here De Guilleville clearly subordinates Fortune to the power of the heavens. Whether we are meant to understand by "cours du ciel" merely the stars and their revolutions, or whether De Guilleville intended a deeper significance, it is hard to tell positively in a period when intelligent men actually believed in planetary influence.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-3. See also (p. 73) "Fortune donc, a proprement parler, n'est aultre chose que ce qui nous esmeult a aucune oeuvre faire, a laquelle s'ensuyt aucun esfect inoppinable et ce n'est aultre chose que nostre volenté ou nostre entendement, auquel les philozophes finalement ramainent ceste . . . cause par accident."

<sup>86</sup> *Rommant des Trois Pelerinaiges* (c. 1500), fol. lxxvii v°.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. lxx v°.

A curious reminiscence of Boethius is found in *Le Regime de Fortune*,<sup>88</sup> which in the form of seven "balades" summarizes most of the familiar ideas about Fortune, including a description of her house. The author chides men for trusting in Fortune:—Foolish men! You really possess nothing but the gifts of Grace and Nature. The fruits of Nature should suffice. Fortune does no wrong, therefore, in taking back her gifts; it is her habit and her right. This is the rule of Fortune. Take heart. Who wants to enjoy the dance of Fortune, let him prize the small gifts as much as the great.

### III

#### GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

More promise of the spirit of the Renaissance in the acceptance of Fortune is found in the works of Guillaume de Machaut († 1377) than in those of any French author thus far studied. Guillaume continues the tradition of Petrarch in the Fortune of love, but without Petrarch's outspoken orthodoxy, and without much emphasis on his moral. The *Remede de Fortune* is concerned with bad fortune in an amour, and the remedy is really ultimate success. It is remarkably rich in detail, but the detail is chiefly drawn from predecessors:

The lover is afraid to declare his love. One of his poems falls into his lady's hands. She asks who the author is, and he, abashed, runs away without answering. He goes to the Park of Hesdin to complain:— Fortune controls love. She never stops turning her wheel; high becomes low, and low becomes high. The joyous becomes sad. She is not firm, stable, just, loyal, or true. When one thinks her charitable, she is avaricious, hard, strange, fearful, traitorous, and deceiving. What seems friendly and honey-sweet becomes the incurable sting of a viper. She would betray her own father. Fortune loves only from a distance. She always fails at need. She has regard for no person, good or bad. She would bear false witness to get the best friend she has in the world into a

<sup>88</sup> Alain Chartier, *Oeuvres* (1617), pp. 710-17. Piaget, *Martin le Franc*, p. 173, attributes the poem to Michault Taillevent († 1458), and in proof refers to the Bibliothèque Nationale's French MS., 1696, fol. 43 v<sup>o</sup>, and to the Arsenal MS. 3521, fol. 216 r<sup>o</sup>. Gröber also assigns it to Taillevent (*Grundriss*, II Bd., i Abt., 5 Lief., pp. 1126 ff.), and he relates to it the *Règne de Fortune* in Montaignon's *Recueil*, X, 75-84 (cf., however, Piaget as above, and in *Romania*, XVIII, 444). A note in Chartier's works says that the piece is not in the MS. which has been used for that edition.

corner. She flays rather than cuts; she abounds in malice. What she gives is not worth a rotten pear. She never ceases doing ill. When a person is most endowed with glory and worldly riches, she brings him to nothing. Her gifts cause only pain. She brings on the storm and tempest of adversity. She has more than a thousand tricks. She is hateful love, wretched happiness, avaricious bounty. With one eye she smiles, with the other she weeps. She has power over emperors, popes, and kings. Conquering them, she cries "Checkmate!"

Fortune and Love work together for the author's ill. But Esperence comes and speaks to him. Esperence reviews the qualities of Fortune: Use Reason to gain felicity. Remember that none of Fortune's goods is dependable. Hold her power base, for happiness comes from endurance and patience. Despise the changes of Fortune. Reason will prove that Fortune was never treasonable. She must change or she would not be Fortune. Her wheel cannot be stopped for you. If you put a boat on the sea, you know it will go as the wind takes it. So with Fortune. As a mother she fed you with her milk, and yet you now complain. Hasn't she done enough? You would see all this if Love had not made you blind. Prize not a prune the wealth of Fortune. Let a man follow Bonneürté rather, who gives Glory, Delight, etc.:

Qu' amy vray ne sont pas en compte  
Des biens Fortune, qui bien compte,  
Mais entre les biens de vertu.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mais la bonne et bien enseignie  
Que Raison gouverne et maistrie,  
Qui tant scet, tant puet et tant vaut  
Que riens de bien en li ne faut,  
De sa bonté tant m'enrichist  
Que ses dous yeus vers moy guenchist.

The lover tells his lady what Esperence counselled him, and the lady accepts him.<sup>89</sup>

From this summary it is obvious that Guillaume de Machaut owes much to the pagan conception of Fortune in Boethius.<sup>90</sup> The other

<sup>89</sup> *Oeuvres*, ed. Hoepffner, II, 1 ff. The quotations are on pages 103, 125.

<sup>90</sup> On pages xvi ff. Hoepffner discusses preceding treatments; he notes that the one in this poem is different from that in the *Roman de la Rose*. On pages xix ff. he speaks of the relation to Boethius and compares Esperence to Philosophy (cf. Alain Chartier's *L'Esperance, ou Consolation des Trois Vertus*, in *Oeuvres*, pp. 261-390). Hoepffner (p. xxx) says that evidently Guillaume did not know the work of Simund de Freine.

passages in which he treats of the goddess are not meagre; they are chiefly concerned with erotic motifs."<sup>91</sup>

#### JEAN FROISSART

The Fortune of Love appears again in the poetry of Froissart (1337 ?-1410 ?), who does not differ much in the manner of his treatment from Guillaume de Machaut. He is chiefly concerned with affairs of love, but at least twice he steps aside to confront the problem of Fortune itself. Here, as in Machaut, the pagan figure from Boethius is employed:

Ne fu Boece par Envie  
Au grant peril d'estre desers,  
Quant ou meilleur point de sa vie  
Ot par Fortune un tel revers, etc.

His remedy is found in his rejection of Fortune's gifts:

Qu'il disoit: "Hé! je te defie,  
Faulse Fortune, et tes divers  
Estas."

Encor dist il et ratifie  
Que trop est à Fortune sers  
Cil qui en elle se confie  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Car telle richesse desvoie  
Parfaite consolacion.

<sup>91</sup> In Hoepffner's edition, see *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, ll. 284, 684 ff., 725, 821; *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, ll. 1294, 2258, 3851 ff.; *Dit de l'Alerion*, ll. 432, 1749, 2282 ff., 2500 ff. In the *Poésies Lyriques*, ed. Chichmaref, see I, 52, 63, 71, 81, 87, 113, 150, 170, 171, 176, 182, 192, 204, 209, 216, 229, 230, 254; II, 312, 355, 357, 371, 415, 416, 418, 419, 434, 435, 446, 476, 477, 479, 480, 488, 497-8, 506, 510, 556, 557, 638, 644: in *Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, pp. 26, 67, 77, 90, 258, 264, 277, 278, 309, 332, 333-5, 336, 337, 338, 352 ff., 367. By far the majority of these references relate Fortune to love, and they continue to emphasize the opinion that Fortune deals with worldly goods. In the *Voir-Dit*, pp. 333-5, there is an interesting reference to the Classics. Note the compromise in the following lines (Chichmaref I, 230):

Et se magique m'asseüre  
Ou astronomie est pour moy,  
Et Fortune estre me vuet dure,  
Asseürer pas ne me doy.  
Dont qui vuet honneur et pris,  
Ait sa fiance en Dieu de paradis  
Et pense adès qu'il ha sept contre quarte,  
S'il ha pooir de leur orgueil abatte.

He never would gain comfort from Fortune; so he changed his allegiance to the banner of Science. The happy man does not come to good by Fortune, for she takes all his wealth away. Sens and Science are poorer, but more dependable. Worldly glory passes away, and indeed everything except Sens.<sup>92</sup>

This is the remedy of prudence and spiritual devotion.<sup>93</sup>

Merely pagan endurance is the remedy Froissart offers in his "balade" on the subject:

Se Fortune la tres fausse et perverse  
Est contre moy,

I will continue to think on the truth that many a man has wished to turn back from an undertaking. Times are not dependable. Fortune does what she wants. She makes one mount on high, and in a little while she revolves one down again. So she hastily turns her wheel. If she were a thousand times more changeable, I would still endure her power.<sup>94</sup>

The interest Froissart takes in Fortune is, like that of Machaut, surprisingly great.<sup>95</sup>

#### EUSTACHE DESCHAMPS

Deschamps (c. 1345—c. 1405), a disciple of Guillaume de Machaut,<sup>96</sup> takes unusual pleasure, even for a maker of balades, in depicting Fortune. In his balade "A Guillaume de Machaut sur le Voir Dit," he asserts,

Si adresçay au lieu premierement  
Ou Fortune parla si durement,  
Comment l'un joint a ses biens, l'autre estrange.<sup>97</sup>

He wrote a balade, "Discussion avec la Fortune," with the refrain,

Mere de tous suy nommée Fortune.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>92</sup> *Oeuvres, Poésies*, ed. Scheler, III, 216 ff. (*Trésor Amoureux*, balades vii-xii, xiv). Cf. the morality *Everyman*.

<sup>93</sup> See § xii, l. 25, reference to Reason. The great example here is Socrates (see § viii).

<sup>94</sup> *Méliador*, II, 238-9.

<sup>95</sup> For other references in Froissart, see Scheler's ed., I, 84, 141, 142, 146, 147, 177, 217, 304, 306, 307, 311; II, 18, 21, 22, 84, 90, 109-11, 257, 258, 265-6, 267-8, 269, 271, 387, 406, 414; III, 213-14; *Méliador*, III, 176.

<sup>96</sup> See Hoepffner's edition of Machaut, I, p. v.

<sup>97</sup> *Oeuvres*, I, 249, (cxxxvii).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 56-8 (mcxxxiv).

In this poem Fortune merely claims her right to give to whom she pleases. Deschamps also wrote a balade of three stanzas, beginning,

En Boece, de consolacion,  
Trouverez-vous de Fortune l'assault.

This balade tells us Fortune's resources,—

Elle a de droit en sa possession  
Richesce, honeurs, dignitez ne lui fault;

and the refrain is,

En tous temps est Fortune decevable.

Here he gives a remedy reminiscent of *Les Échecs Amoureux*:

Despitez la, aiez cuer de vassault,  
Ja ne croiez qu'elle soit veritable,  
Fuiez ses biens, car se Dieux me consault,  
En tous temps, etc."<sup>99</sup>

The pagan figure of the goddess is taken from Boethius, and, for the present, Fortune is again annihilated. Deschamps's remedy elsewhere is usually that of fortitude<sup>100</sup> or that of prudence.<sup>101</sup> In general the poet keeps Fortune pagan, and he retains her in many places throughout his works in a great variety of connections.<sup>102</sup>

The poets I have treated in this section of my study of French literature have been chiefly interested in the Fortune of love. Only Eustache Deschamps seems really bothered about the philosophical or Christian aspects of the problem, and he treats them

<sup>99</sup> I, 316 f. (clxxxi). Cf. the mention of God and Fortune, V, 75 (dcccclxxxix); the annihilation theory, II, 42 (ccxvii); the remedy of spiritual devotion, where Franche Volonté, given by God, hinders Fortune, II, 140 (ccclxxvi), and see all of pp. 140-42.

<sup>100</sup> IX, 358-9 (*Le Miroir de Mariage*, 11148 ff.). Cf. V, 411 (mxcviii).

<sup>101</sup> IV, 183 f. (dcccxvii); better, I, 213 (cii), "Du bien n'esjouit, ne du mal ne se plaingne."

<sup>102</sup> Friend in need: I, 289 ff.; IX, 1 ff.; X, p. xxii, no. xv (pièces attrib.). War: I, 162; V, 371; VII, 138. Love: I, 132 ff.; III, 371, 386 ff.; IV, 5, 178; V, 342; X, p. lxxxvii (pièces attrib.). Court: I, 237; V, 289; VI, 171, 260. For references in general, see also I, 241; II, 124, 286; III, 132, 134; IV, 238, 332; V, 209, 354; VI, 9, 71, 101, 223; VII, 56; X, pp. xxii ff., xliv, lviii, lxxxv (pièces attrib.).

in a more or less casual way. Otherwise the pagan goddess holds complete sway; her power is checked only by the pagan remedies.

#### IV

The Renaissance did not begin in France so early as in Italy. Therefore we can hardly expect many signs of its approach in the fifteenth century. In the attitude of the poets of love which we have just been considering, I think there is much to be found prophetic of the Renaissance spirit. This section of my study will be concerned with French poets of a slightly later group.

#### CHRISTINE DE PISAN

Christine de Pisan (1363-c. 1431), in spite of her moral warning against reading the *Roman de la Rose*,<sup>103</sup> continues in general the pagan tradition of Fortune handed down from the *Roman* and from Boethius's *Consolatio*, which Jean de Meun translated.<sup>104</sup> To be sure, in *Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*, the portrayal of the house of Fortune seems original, but the goddess remains pagan:

Christine is put in the service of Fortune by her mother. Fortune sends her on a journey to the court of the God Hymeneus and she is entrusted to the protection of a knightly youth. She spends seven years there and is married. She travels away in a boat, and at sea her husband is lost. When Christine complains, Fortune appears and changes her to a man. The ship, wrecked by the storm at sea, is mended, and the journey to the castle of Fortune is begun. An elaborate description of the castle follows, and a treatise on Fortune's work in the history of mankind.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Oeuvres*, III, 39 (lxxvii). Cf. her *Espistres sur le Roman de la Rose*, ed. F. Beck, Neuburg, 1888, pp. 20 ff.: "Le dit inutile rommant de la rose . . . (et de tant est le peril plus grant comme le bien y est plus autentique comme autre fois ay dit)." This was, of course, written in connection with the controversy on the character of woman, aroused by the unflattering comments in the *Roman*. See Neilson, *Court of Love*, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>104</sup> For reference to Boethius in Christine's poetry, see *Oeuvres*, I, 97; II, 297; *Le Livre du Chemin de Long Estude*, II, 206 ff., 278 ff.

<sup>105</sup> I have not been able to see the actual book. For the summary I have used, see Koch's *Christine de Pisan*, pp. 63 ff., which dates the poem 1403. Piaget (*Martin le Franc*, p. 172) says that the book "N'est rien moins qu'un essai d'histoire universelle, depuis les temps les plus reculés." The nations treated of are Greece, Troy, Rome, Assyria, the Medes, Persians, and Amazons.

Christine's remedy for Fortune is taken from Boethius:

De commun cours chascun a trop plus chiers  
 De Fortune les biens, que de Nature;  
 Mois c'est a tort, car ilz sont si legiers  
 Qu'on n'en devroit a nul fuer avoir cure.  
 Boëce en fait mension  
 En son livre de Consolacion,  
 Qui repreuve de Fortune la gloire.

One can see in history the examples of Fortune's exaltation of man and his sudden fall. One must be forewarned and have fear of her.<sup>106</sup>

Thus we learn that there are better gifts than those of Fortune, and that there is another important Deity.<sup>107</sup> There are many treatments of Fortune scattered throughout Christine's work.<sup>108</sup>

#### CHARLES D'ORLEANS

In the poetry of Charles d'Orleans (1391-1465) we have an exception to the rule that the poets of lighter love-poetry in France and Italy use the pagan Fortune. He has two series of balades on the subject of the goddess. In one of these he employs the Christian conception, with a peculiarly querulous and yet theoretically consistent discussion:

FORTUNE: Why do they give me the reputation of being untrustworthy

<sup>106</sup> *Oeuvres*, I, 97 (*Cent Balades*, xcvi).

<sup>107</sup> See references to God and Fortune, *ibid.*, II, 144 (*Le Livre des Trois Jugemens*, ll. 1086 ff.),

Dieux qui fist ciel et lune  
 Vous reconfort et moy qui par Fortune  
 Suis mise au bas  
 Doint brief finer;

also I, 19 (balade xviii); II, 218 (*Livre du Dit de Poissy*, ll. 1965-71).

See, too, III, 28 (*Les Enseignemens Moraux*),

Que prudence puisse acquerre,  
 Car celle est des vertus la mere  
 Qui chace Fortune l'amere;

also III, 41; and *Livre du Chemin*, ll. 235 ff.

<sup>108</sup> See *Oeuvres*, I, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 25, 34, 104, 115, 150, 182, 208, 214, 223, 224, 245, 266-7, 268; II, 8, 64, 93, 135, 144, 198, 199, 202, 203, 300; III, 28, 29, 34, 36, 41, 159, 304; *Livre du Chemin*, ll. 110, 149, 255 ff., 271, 319-20.



because I exalt the lowly, and humble those who are on high? I am wrongfully blamed—

Que de long temps m'a ordonnée  
Dieu, sur tous le souverain Roy,  
Pour donner au monde chastoy.

Yet they mock me.

AUTHOR: I heard you, O Fortune, complain of your wrong. But often you do act unreasonably. When you want sport, you bring Plaisance and Espoir to suffering. Check yourself and play this game no more.

FORTUNE: There is none so great I dare not speak to. I have done and will do as seems good to me. Who will blame me? I am not found reasonable but I fulfill my will. I often change my purpose.<sup>109</sup>

The other long treatment of Fortune in Charles's poetry is merely pagan, but there, as elsewhere,<sup>110</sup> he finds the remedy of prudence useful.<sup>111</sup> He alludes to Fortune frequently in all his works.<sup>112</sup>

#### MARTIN LE FRANC

*L'Estrif de Fortunc et de Vertu* of Martin le Franc (c.1410-61) uses only the remedy of spiritual devotion, with hardly more than a glance at the Christian conception:

A contest between Fortune and Virtue is held before Dame Reason. Which will succeed in leading mankind? They begin a *débat*. Fortune accuses Virtue of promising castles in Spain and other-world happiness to man. Fortune herself really creates kings and emperors at her own will. God governs in heaven and she on earth. Virtue had better retire to a nunnery. Virtue replies calmly, but is frank in her opinion of Fortune: "Tant estes petite, inconstante, fresle, muable, incertaine, vagabonde, decepvant, perilleuse, diverse, que on ne vous scet quel nom bailler. Les ung<sup>s</sup> considerans vostre ignorance, et que sans discretion tribue<sup>s</sup> les biens mondains, bendent les yeul<sup>s</sup> a vostre ymage. Les aultres veans vostre variété vous paingnent blanche d'un costé et noire de l'autre . . . les ung<sup>s</sup> vous reclament dieu et les aultres<sup>s</sup> deesse, non sachans se masle estes ou femelle." She is allowed by Divine suffrance, and is called Fortune because fortune is mentioned so often at court. Fortune replies, accusing Reason as well as Virtue of responsibility for the tribulation of kings and emperors. She has her special function; let people be

<sup>109</sup> *Poésies Complètes*, I, 129-132 (balades xiii-xv).

<sup>110</sup> I, 125; II, 178 (clxviii).

<sup>111</sup> II, 220-21 (rondeaux ccxxii-xxv; for the remedy of prudence, see ccxxiv).

<sup>112</sup> See I, 43, 53, 55, 56-7, 58, 59, 73-4, 76-7, 82, 114, 121, 133, 151, 156, 188, 212; II, 34, 64, 84, 87, 130, 135, 137, 150, 154-5, 156, 164, 219, 222, 230, 232.

praised according to their particular talents. Virtue responds that the work of Fortune in the world is too extensive. She refers to the cases of Adam, Sardanapalus, Cyrus, Tarquin, etc. Fortune answers that she is only putting pride where it belongs. Virtue says that the trouble with France is that princes think only of their amusement; God sends joys and afflictions; Virtue and Noblesse cannot be subject to Fortune. Fortune retorts that the foolish virtuous are poor and think themselves kings; she mocks at the way Virtue exhorts men to scorn worldly goods, and she sneers at the poorly-dressed virtuous. Reason sums up the case and decides that Fortune really has power over none.<sup>118</sup>

This is clearly but a half-hearted adoption of the Christian Fortune, if Fortune here can be considered such a figure at all. The remedy is not so much Christian as that of spiritual devotion: the idea that Fortune is a part of the Divine plan is not emphasized.

#### PIERRE MICHAULT

Pierre Michault's *Dance aux Aveugles*<sup>114</sup> owes much in conception to the Dance of Death figure.<sup>115</sup> The idea symbolized is, clearly enough, that of the power of various deities over mankind. Love, Death, and Fortune have each a retinue of subjects. The dance of Fortune proceeds as follows:

The signal to begin is furnished by two youths standing near, one with a silver trumpet, the other with a wooden trumpet. The figures of the dancers appear, and after they dance awhile they are presented with prizes and gifts, "sans aucunesfois aviser merites, vertus, qualitez ne vices, ne sans regart a bien ou mal dancer." The mistress of the dance is Fortune;

<sup>114</sup> I have been able to use only the summary in Piaget, pp. 175 ff. Cf. the Italian trial before Il Vecchio, *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, III, p. 215. Piaget (pp. 183 ff.) notes the similarity to Petrarch's *De Remediis*, but *L'Estrif* seems to me merely to follow the general tradition of the spiritual remedy. For descriptions of the 1477 and 1506 editions, with a picture of Fortune's wheel, see *Catalogue des Livres de Rothschild*, I, 253-6.

<sup>115</sup> Goujet (*Bibliothèque Française*, IX, 358 ff.) does not seem to give a date for this document; the edition of Lambert Douxfls (note opposite page 1) dates it "about eighty years" before 1543.

<sup>116</sup> For a bibliography of the *Dance Macabré*, see Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung*, 2d ed., I, § 92. The "dance of love," in which Pandarus hopped always behind, was of course familiar. How old the idea was and just what its connection with the Dance of Death was, I do not know; but the Dance of Death is more easily explicable as the earlier conception.

the two youths with horns are Eur and Malheur; the lady who gives the prizes is Destiny, sometimes lieutenant of Fortune. She has the same character as Fortune: "Car aucunesfois tu la pourras appercevoir douce, riant, & debonnaire: & a la fois s'elle est aigre, poignant & dangereuse en sa morsure, plus que aspic ne couleuvre." Fortune describes herself: she is goddess, empress, and mistress of the world, sovereign of all lords, having great power to give and to take away. There is no earthly dignity that does not come at her appointment. Remember the fall of Lucifer and of Adam!

"Ce que Cupido & Fortune gouvernement," explains Entendement, "n'est point par puissance par eux attribuée de Dieu; mais par la submission des Danceurs qui leur donnent povoir sur eulx; & laissent Raison & moy derriere, en se mettant hors de nostre voye & de leur propre institucion." Animals are not controlled by Fortune. Man, who has free-will, has the power to resist her, and thus he is submitted to her temptations . . .

Puisqu'homme est a sa dure rouhe  
Englué par concupiscence,  
Il peut aussytost choir en bouhe,  
Qu'estre eslevé en audience:  
Et ny a point de difference  
Du bas au hault; car elle est ronde,  
Et tourne sur ung gond le monde.

\* \* \* \* \*

On peut eviter ceste Dance  
Par avoir vertu de coraige,  
Et en son estat souffisance  
Sans desirer trop hault estaige."<sup>108</sup>

This is clearly the remedy of spiritual devotion. The passage follows the theme hinted in the wheel-figure of *Les Echecs Amoureux*, and so falls into the category of developments from Boethius. It gives us only his second treatment, however, and the figure is really not Christian in conception.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Douxfils's ed., pp. 30 ff. For another reference to the dance of Fortune, see p. 21 above; also Guillaume de Machaut, *Voir-Dit*, p. 353. See also Charles d'Orleans, *Poésies*, II, 221 (rondeau ccxxv):

Quant elle tient sa feste,  
Les aucuns fait danser,  
Et les autres tempeste.

Here, however, the figure is slightly different: the dance seems to be a dance of joy. See Lydgate, *Troy Book*, book V, ll. 2097 ff.

<sup>117</sup> For another reference to Fortune by Michault, see Douxfils's ed., p. 128 (*Complainte sur la Mort de la Comtesse de Charrolois*). For references in the anonymous pieces in the volume, see pp. 233-4, 241, 314.

## ALAIN CHARTIER

In *L'Esperance, ou Consolation des Trois Vertus*, Alain Chartier (c. 1386-c. 1449) takes the pagan remedy of spiritual devotion directly from the first treatment in Boethius. The piece describes Fortune in the familiar manner; but the peculiar point to notice here is that Fortune is mentioned as found particularly at Court,—“De tout temps en Cour la trouveras.”<sup>118</sup> Foy introduces the annihilation of Fortune: “Par ainsi il ne faut douter que seigneurie & servitude sont establissement de loy raisonnable, non mie don de fortune.”<sup>119</sup> And Entendement adds: “Pour oster les demourans de mes doubtes, & confermer ma pensée en cremeur de Dieu, monstre s'il te plaist, que ce que nous souffrons soit punition divine: & que on ne le doie imputer à fortune, ne aux efforts de humaine puissance & de mondaine entreprise.”<sup>120</sup> It is surprising that, with such emphatic denials of Fortune, Alain keeps the goddess elsewhere in so many connections.<sup>121</sup>

Discussion of Fortune's work is common in French love-poetry of the period we are now studying.<sup>122</sup> For illustration of the color of the passages, we may take the following rondeau from a collection:

Par long temps j'ay nagié en l'onde  
De la cruelle mer parfonde  
De Fortune, qui par son sort  
M'a mené jusques a ung port  
Le plus maudit de tout le monde.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>118</sup> *Oeuvres* (1617), p. 267. Cf. pp. 394 ff. (*Le Curial*), especially 395, 400; and see p. 25, n. 102, and p. 28 above.

<sup>119</sup> Page 316.

<sup>120</sup> Page 321. Cf. also p. 535 (*Complaincte contre la Mort*),

Helas! comment m'est fortune si dure,  
Ne comme a Dieu souffert ceste adventure?

and p. 511 (*La Belle Dame sans Mercy*), “Dieu et fortune me confonde.”

<sup>121</sup> Pages 364, 365, 392, 474, 592, 607-8, 610, 612, 620, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 629, 633, 639, 641, 646, 666, 677, 678, 679, 747, 774, 776, 805.

<sup>122</sup> For example, Paris, *Chansons du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, pp. 88, 89, 112; Raynaud, *Rondeaux*, pp. 2, 25, 42-4, 57, 81, 90, 97, 104, 133, 134, 136, 142, 148, 154, 156, 157; Dinaux, *Trouvères*, II, 38, 181, 353.

<sup>123</sup> Raynaud, *Rondeaux*, p. 25.

Villon (1431 ?——) finds himself particularly injured by the goddess, whom he places in a learned tradition:

Fortune fuꝝ par clerçs jadis nommée,  
Que, toy, François, crie et nomme meurtrière.<sup>124</sup>

These lines, like most of the minor poetry and the poetry of love, retain the pagan goddess.

## V

In this chapter on French literature we have seen a frequent tendency to refer to Fortune, a natural vitality in the treatment, and an unflagging interest in the question of her existence. Compared with the Italian discussions, there is less of the purely philosophical analysis. Yet the many remedies offered, however pagan, show that the problem was in mind and that it was felt to be real. The consolations for the adversities of Fortune are not merely personal but general. Beside the pagan tradition, we have seen in France an early and spontaneous growth of the Christian conception, with apparently no influence from Dante in idea or in phrasing. If its source is foreign, it springs rather from Boethius. In France the influence of Boethius is more pervading than in Italy, or at least is clearly indicated in a greater number of cases. To Jean de Meun credit is chiefly due, perhaps, for having made accessible, in his translation and in his *Roman de la Rose*, this great source of both the Christian and the pagan idea.

The French literature in which Fortune appears shows, like the Italian, a wide variety, from allegory and satire to elegy and complaint. The allegory of love and the balade and virelay give expression to the secular spirit which fills the Italian *novelle*. In this less moral literature the pagan idea appears conspicuously. It cannot be said, however, that the poems of Philippe de Beaumanoir, Pierre de la Broche, or Watriquet de Couvin, where the Christian goddess is first pictured, lay much more stress on the moral. The French poetry in general seems more inclined to the Orthodox or Christian idea than does the Italian, although perhaps that is because Italy was earlier subject to the Renaissance spirit.

<sup>124</sup> Villon, *Oeuvres*, ed. Lacroix, p. 132. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. 90, 112, 180 (God and Fortune), in poems attributed to Villon; and Prompsault's ed., p. 476. For influence of the *Roman de la Rose* on Villon, see G. Paris, *François Villon*, pp. 95-6; for a reference to the *Roman* in Villon, see his *Grand Testament*, st. xv (*Oeuvres*, ed. Lacroix, p. 26).



## A NOTE ON THE INFLUENCE OF BOETHIUS

For a study of the influence of Boethius, see H. F. Stewart's essay (1891): pp. 163 ff., influence on *Beowulf*; pp. 170 ff., a study of Alfred's translation; pp. 178 ff., on the Provençal poem *Boece* (xith century); pp. 190 ff., on Notker; pp. 198 ff., on Simund de Freine; pp. 200 ff., on an anonymous writer and Jean de Meun; pp. 206 ff., on Pierre de Paris (xiiiith or early xivth century); pp. 208 ff., on an anonymous French poet; pp. 212 ff., on Jehan de Cis; pp. 213 ff., on Frere Renaut de Louhans; pp. 214 ff., on Chaucer. For the French translations of Boethius, see (1) Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, 103 (note on MS. 809, Jean de Meun), and II, 317 ff. (notes on eight MSS.); (2) *Romania*, XX, 329, and XLII, 331 ff.; (3) Gröber, *Grundriss*, 1897, II (ii), 104-5; (4) Gaston Paris, *Littérature Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1914), p. 312. For Nicolas Trivet's commentary, see Jourdain, *Excursions Historiques*, etc. (Paris, 1888), pp. 29-58. Note the references to Boethius in the present study, and to them add Baehrens' *Poetae Latini Minores*, V, 419; *Margarita Philosophica*, by Gregor Reisch, VIII, xvi; Christine de Pisan, *Livre du Chemin de Long Estude*, p. 12, lines 278 ff.; Lydgate, *Troy Book*, IV, 3008 ff.

## A NOTE ON BOCCACCIO

In the Harvard Library, under the title *Bocace des Nobles Maleureux*, is an anonymous French translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus*, "newly printed," says the colophon, by one Nicolas Couteau in 1538. In the preamble to chapter one the translation is referred to Laurent de Premierfait,—“translate de latin en langage francoys par honnorable homme et sage maistre Laurens de premier faict.” I notice that this French version lacks the introductory material of the 1544 Latin edition by Ziegler, but it has a “prologue” and a full table of contents not in Ziegler's volume. On some comparison of the texts, I observed that the French introduces the Christian Fortuna. See, for example, in book iv, ch. v,

## Ziegler

Bis è culmine Dionysium suis operibus procurantibus fortuna deiecerat (p. 96).

## Couteau

car fortune servante et executeresse de la voulente divine avoit par deux fois abatu le tyrant Denys de son hault estat (f. lxxvii v°).

And in the same book, cap, ix,

ne fortuna superiorem arbitrantur mortales, ab eadem in eum (p. 101).

lordonnance de dieu ou de fortune sa servante qui font et transmuent ung royaume en autre (f. lxxxi v°).

Durrieu, in his edition of the “Boccace de Munich” (1909, p. 22), says that Laurent de Premierfait introduced into his French translation “toute une série d'amplifications et d'éclaircissements portant surtout sur des points d'histoire et de géographie”; and that he added material from Justin, Florus, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and others. According to Durrieu, Laurent's first version was completed November 13, 1400, and his second, which included the additions, was finished April 15, 1409, with a new prologue. Of the first manuscript very few copies were made, but the second was reproduced many times; it was late in the century, however, before either version was printed. Since I had not access to either of the Laurent versions, as a last resort I made a comparison of the Couteau text with such parts of the Laurent as appear in the plates of the Durrieu volume. The following parallel passages will show the result:

## Durrieu

## Plate III

Selon raison et bonnes meurs. lomme soy excercant en aucune science.

## Couteau

## Prologue (sign. a ii)

Selon raison et bonnes meurs l'homme soy excercant en aucune



*speculative ou autre.* puet honnestement muer son conseil *ou propos* de bien en mieulx, attendue la mutation des choses. des temps. et des lieux. Et aussi puet un potier casser et rompre aucun sien vaissel combien quil soit bien fait pour luy donner autre fourme qui lug semble meilleur. Et ceste licence de muer la chose en mieulx nest pas donnee a lomme pour seulement amender ou corriger sa propre oeuvre: ains mesmement loist soit a chascun *de ce faire* en la besoigne dautrui. *puis que* on le face par bonte de couraige. et par mouvement doeuvre de *pure* charite. qui en soy ne contient envie ne arrogance. Comme doncques ia piece *Le laurens de premier. a lenhortement et requeste daucuns.* eusse translate de latin en francois *le moins mal que ie peu* un tresnotable et exquis livre de Jehan bocace [there is nothing more on the plate.]

Plate XI (lower part)

Je cuide que aucun peu ie aye oste et desmeu les couraiges des seigneurs de leur durte par avant obstinee. Et si cuide que par les *grans* exemples devant diz iaye espovente loutraige et la desordonnance des orgueilleuses ames. car des humbles ie ne parle iamais pource que humilite ne chiet ne *ne* trebusche par quelconque fortune. Je ne scay qui est celui qui *soit* si dur en cuer cui sans paour ait peu lire ou [there is nothing more on the plate.]

Plate XI (upper part)

Le .xiii<sup>e</sup>. chappitre contient le case de olimpias royne de macedoine et mere du grant alexandre. et commence ou latin. Iam iam.

*vertu* peult honnestement muer son conseil de bien en mieulx attendue la mutation des choses/*des temps/et des lieux.* Et aussi peult ung potier casser et rompre aucun sien vaissel combien quil soit bien fait pour luy donner autre forme quil luy semble meilleure. Et ceste licence de muer la chose en mieulx nest pas donnee a lhomme pour seulement amender ou corriger sa propre oeuvre/ains mesmement est a chascun *donnee pour ce faire* en la besongne dautrui/*mais que* on le face par bonte de courage et par mouvement de oeuvre de charite qui en soy ne contient envie ne arrogance. Comme doncques ia piece *fut* de latin en francois translate ung tresnotable et exquis livre de Jehan Boccace, . . .

Book IV, preamble (f. lxxiii v<sup>o</sup>)

Je cuyde que aucun pou ie aye oste et desmeu les courages des seigneurs *et* de leur durte paravant obstinee/ et si cuyde que par les exemples devant ditz ie aye espovente loultrage et la desordonnance des orgueilleuses ames/car des humbles ie ne parle iamais pource que humilite ne chiet ne trebusche par quelconque fortune. Je ne scay qui est celui qui *est* si dur en cuer qui sans paour ayt peu lire ou escouter. . . .

f. lxxxvi r<sup>o</sup>

Le .xii. chapitre contient le cas de Olimpias royne de Macedoine et mere du grant alexandre *roy de macedoine/et* commence ou latin. Iamiam quo flector et flector. &c.

f. lxxxviii r<sup>o</sup>

Le .xliii<sup>e</sup>. chappitre contient le cas de *aristodes* roy des siciliens et commence ou latin. Non solum.

Le .xliii. chapitre contient le cas de *Agathodes qui fut filz dung potier de terre que fut duc de Siracuse et puis* roy des Siciliens. Et commence ou latin. Non solum.

f. lxxxix v<sup>o</sup>

Le .xv<sup>e</sup>. chappitre contient le cas de plusieurs le maleureux nobles hommes *courrouciez pour leurs males fortunes.* et commence ou latin. A flebili.

Le .xliii. chapitre contient le cas de *Bersanes et de Rosanes nobles femmes iadis du grant roy Alexandre/ et de plusieurs autres nobles maleureux parens dudit Alexandre/et* commence ou latin. A flebili Agathodis fine etc.

## Plate XXV

francois petrarc ou premier chappitre de luitiesme livre . . . iay souvenance . . . en repos *ne* en oisivete . . . *des* quant ie vy ia venir . . . puissance richesses et autres dons. . . .

Book IX, ch. i, f. cxciili r<sup>o</sup>

Francois Pert premier a cou chappitre [an obvious misprint] du huytiesme livre . . . ay ie souvenance . . . en repos *ou* en oysivete . . . *de* quant ie vy venir . . . puissance *et* richesses et autres dons . . .

Colophon (f. ccxx r<sup>o</sup>)

Cy finist le neufviesme et dernier livre de Iehan Boccace des nobles hommes et femmes infortunez/translate de latin en françoys. Nouvellement imprime a Paris par Nicolas Couteau. Imprimeur demourant audit lieu/Et fut acheve de imprimer le penultime de Decembre mil. D. xxxviii.

The Couteau translation evidently came from a Latin text different from the one Ziegler edited. In the descriptive heading of the first chapter, for instance, the French version says that in Latin the chapter begins "*Malorum nostrorum.&c.,*" whereas the first chapter in Ziegler's version begins "*Duorum nostrorum mortalium.*" The second chapter of the Latin, says Couteau, begins "*Si cetera desint,*" but Ziegler's begins "*Si cetera desunt.*" So too, the third chapter of the second book is said to begin "*Globus dolentium,*" but Ziegler's begins "*Globus ingens dolen-*

tium"; the eighth chapter is said to begin "Si qui ex parte," but Ziegler's begins "Hic quic ex parte"; and similar variations occur here and there throughout the nine books of the work. Occasionally the chapters do not coincide in order of arrangement, but in the matter of headings there seems to be agreement between the Laurent version, the Couteau, and the Ziegler, except in one case (in book IV) where the Laurent is non-committal:

| LAURENT (Plate XI,<br>ch. xiii)   | COUTEAU (ch. xii)                                             | ZIEGLER (ch. xii)                |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| et commence ou latin.<br>Iam iam. | et commence ou latin.<br>Iamiam quo flector et<br>flector.&c. | Iamiam quo flectar.<br>non habeo |

It seems clear that the Couteau volume, in spite of marked divergences, is in some way greatly indebted to Laurent's second version. The earlier text of Laurent is said to be more faithful to the Latin than the later one is (see Hortis, *Studj*, p. 624). Graesse, in his *Trésor* (I, 446) notes the Couteau 1538 version, and says it is a copy of the edition of Antoine Vérard, 1494.<sup>128</sup> Brunet (*Manuel*, I, 988) says that the 1494 edition of Vérard is from Laurent de Premierfait, in some places rewritten and the name suppressed; and Durrieu (*Boccaccio*, p. 23) notes the Vérard edition of Laurent's second version. It appears, then, that the text has gone through several hands. The Couteau text seems to indicate that Vérard went back to the Latin for verification. He enlarged two of the Latin tags from Laurent and increased and altered the descriptive headings.

One interesting point in this study is that, if the Couteau text comes from Laurent, and if, in spite of other alterations, he included all the descriptive passages of the Christian Fortuna that we find here, then Laurent is to be credited with a phrase of which Chaucer is strangely reminiscent,—“fortune servante et executeresse de la voulente divine” (cf. Chaucer's “But O Fortune executrice of wierdes,” *Troilus*, III, 617; for the “voulente divine” of the Laurent passage, cf. Chaucer's “divine thought,”—see

<sup>128</sup> Following Brunet, Bacchi della Lega in his “Bibliografia” of Boccaccio (p. 27) notes also a 1515 edition by Couteau of which the 1538 edition may be a copy.

Boethius, IV, pr. vi, especially lines 60-68.) No borrowing is necessary on either side, of course; but here in the French is Chaucer's great phrase.

Cf., however, Petrarch (*Smith College Studies in Mod. Lang.*, III, p. 209, n. 143). Laurent seems to be a little younger than Chaucer, but he had begun his translation by 1356 (see Koepfel, *Laurents de Premierfait und Lydgates Bearbeitungen*, etc., p. 37, and note 1, which quotes from the prologue to Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*). Chaucer's *Monk's Tale* seems to point less to the French text than to the Latin. For Laurent's work, see Durrieu's *Boccace de Munich*, part i; and Hortis's *Studj*, index, under "Premierfait," including Appendices iv and v, which give the prologues of Laurent. For his life, see Le Roux de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses Historiens*, pp. 412-15; also La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier, *Bibliothèques Françaises*, 1772-73, II, 32-3, and IV, 576.

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